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AN ENQVIRY INTO THE
CONDVCT OF A LATE
RIGHT HONOVABLE
COMMONER.

*“ Plain Truth, Dear Pynsent, needs no Flow’rs
“ of Speech.”*

POPE.

THE FIFTH IMPRESSION, CORRECTED.

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AN EXAMINATION of the PRINCIPLES,
and boasted DISINTERESTEDNESS, of a Late
RIGHT HONOURABLE COMMONER.

“ He fell from his Duty, and all his former
“ Friends ; and this he did so meanly, that he
“ seemed to all men to have lost his wits when
“ he left his honesty.”

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*Thou, Jaffier ! thou my once lov'd, valued Friend !
By Heav'n thou ly'st—the Man so call'd, my Friend,
Was generous, honest, faithful, just, and valiant——
But thou, a wretched, base, false, worthless Coward,
Poor ev'n in Soul, and loathsome in thy Aspect :
All Eyes must shun thee, and all Hearts detest thee !*

OTWAY.

AN ENQVIRY INTO THE
CONDVCT OF A LATE
RIGHT HONOVABLE
COMMONER.

IN the tide of almost every great man's life, there is commonly one period, which is not only more remarkable than the rest, but conveys with it strong characteristic marks of the complexion of him to whom it belongs. Thus the great BACON, when he saw the only road to preferment was thro' BUCKINGHAM, attached himself to that Favourite, and undertook to second the views of the crown. We read of his excessive pliancy in transactions wholly below his rank and character; particularly several attempts to corrupt and bias the

B judges,

judges, in causes which the King or his minister had much at heart. “Avarice,” says Mr. Justice FOSTER, (who in his discourse on high treason has recorded these instances of his baseness) “I think was not his ruling passion. “But whenever a false ambition, ever restless and craving, over-heated in the pursuit of the honours which the crown alone can confer, happeneth to stimulate an heart otherwise formed for great and noble pursuits, it hath frequently betrayed it into measures full as mean as avarice itself could have suggested to the wretched animals; who live and die under her dominion. For these passions, however they may seem to be at variance, have ordinarily produced the same effects. Both degrade the man; both contract his
“ views

“ views into the little point of self-in-
 “ tereft, and equally steel the heart
 “ againft the rebukes of confcience,
 “ or the fenfe of true honour.” Who-
 ever is at the pains of reading BA-
 CON’s life, will find, that from the
 moment of his attaching himself to
 VILLIERS, duke of BUCKINGHAM, his
 character takes a new turn. We fee
 no more of the firm friend, nor
 honeft man ; both are funk in the
 fcandalous Inftrument of a Favourite,
 without honour, and of a court, without
 veracity : And VILLIERS, and he, were
 afterwards impeached by the Com-
 mons. The King indeed endeavoured
 to fave VILLIERS ; but BACON was fa-
 crificed. It is true, he had been made a
 lord ; but he was fequeftered from par-
 liament : and the pangs of his confci-

ence were evidenced by every passage of his future life.

Within our own times, who had a more exalted character, or whose popularity was higher, than Mr. WILLIAM PULTENEY's? He was the *Great Commoner* of his time; the terror of corruption, the support of virtue, the firm, disinterested patriot. But when he, treacherously, deserted his friends, meanly capitulated with the court, bargained still more abjectly to screen the Favourite, and accepted of a peerage, his popularity forsook him in an instant: the united public looked upon him as a traitor, and were unanimous in condemning, detesting, and execrating him. His quondam friends abhorred him, and his enemies despised him. That one transaction hath branded his name with eternal infamy.

Other

Other instances of the like nature are not wanting ; but these are enough to establish this great truth, that men who are innately bad, notwithstanding the force of a long habit of hypocrisy, will, one time or other, wear their natural complexion.

This has been remarkably verified in the conduct of a LATE Right Honourable COMMONER, just called to another house. He has long dwelt as high in the public esteem as Mr. PULTENEY once did, has been considered to have talents superior to BACON, and supposed to have more integrity than either. The people have adored him to a greater degree, than perhaps any other man ever experienced ; and upon repeated and positive assurances of his disinterestedness, they have been led to repose in him the
 most

most unlimited confidence. However, there have not been wanting many who have suspected the veracity of those assurances ; and, whose penetration being guided by a true knowledge of some parts of his conduct, have frequently asserted, he would one day or other prove *an Impostor*.

A sketch of some parts of his former conduct will not be amiss in this place, as it will remind the public, what hair-breadth escapes he has had of losing his popularity, and will in some measure be found to lead to the causes of his last great manœuvre ; the grand criterion by which the public opinion of his boasted fidelity and patriotism, will be for ever fixed upon the solid foundation of indisputable *Truth*.

None was more forward or more violent, in declaiming with virulence
against

against Sir ROBERT WALPOLE. By this he first became popular; and the Dutchess of MARLBOROUGH left him ten thousand pounds, with the intention of preserving him *unplaced* and *unpensioned*. Next he condemned the PELHAMS, and their administration, to the shades of Erebus, as the most pernicious men ever known, and the most destructive measures ever adopted. They knew his price, and he entered into a compromise with the Duke of NEWCASTLE, who made him a Vice-Treasurer of IRELAND, with the present Lord CHOLMONDELEY. He then poured the most lavish encomiums upon them, and deified Sir ROBERT WALPOLE. For the truth of these facts, I appeal to the great number of persons now alive who are well acquainted with them; and to some, who have copies of a few of
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the most remarkable passages in his strange, inconsistent, and contradictory speeches. By this conduct his popularity was well nigh being ruined, but his friends and relations were indefatigable in supporting his character; and he himself neglected neither pains nor opportunity of acquiring an interest at St. James's, by paying court to a Female Favourite, who at that time held the keys of promotion. And by an interest as scandalous, as his conduct was obsequious, he obtained the post of Paymaster. For a little time he was quiet; but his ever restless ambition soon broke out, and he aimed at the sole guidance of the State, which he seemed resolved to take by storm. He thundered against HANOVER, the very name of which he was for expunging out of the dictionary; it was called a
mill-

mill-stone hung about the neck of Great-Britain, and stiled the bane of this country, from the expence which it cost us; and the most solemn declarations were made, that not a shilling nor a man should go to Germany. The popular gale wafts him into power: and though not to that degree of eminence in station, which constitutionally gives the lead in public business, yet he usurped an absolute dominion over the whole court. It is his nature to bear no controul; therefore the King was taken captive in his closet, and made prisoner upon his throne. But, as it were to atone for this conduct, and to give the public another proof, that not theirs, but his own interest, was the object he had in view; though absolute minister, and of course at full liberty to

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carry on the war upon whatever system he pleased, and a neutrality secured for Hanover; he entered into all the predilections of his Sovereign, broke the neutrality in Germany, and notwithstanding his many furious and energetic declarations against the continent, the very sounds of which were tingling in our ears, he plunged us deeper into the German war than any of his predecessors; sent over more men and more money than any other minister ever dared; and at an expence of above eighty millions, *conquered America in Germany.* *

And

* It is only curious, from observation of his natural inconsistency, to mention, that when the late lord Anson was attacked in the House of Commons upon the loss of Minorca, the Late Commoner (knowing that the late Lord Hardwicke was then the Court Favourite) stood up to vindicate his Lordship, and said, “ that
“ he

And to support this enormous load of expence, it was at his exprefs injunction, that the laſt heavy additional duty was laid upon beer, even in oppoſition to the Duke of NEWCASTLE and the late Mr. LEGGE, who would otherwiſe have laid a tax upon the luxuries of life, in order to ſpare the induſtrious, and put the burden upon the rich and idle. As this tax falls almoſt excluſively upon the moſt uſeful and laborious part of the nation, it may with ſtrict juſtice be ſtiled a grievous and an oppreſſive tax, by which the price of one article of conſumption was advanced a *Seventh*——A tax cruelly

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wrung

“ he was convinced his Lordſhip had erred
 “ through want of intellect, and not through
 “ deſign.” After this extraordinary declaration, he reſtored his Lordſhip to that very poſt, for which he had pronounced him unqualified through deficiency of underſtanding.

wrung from the briny sweat of industry, and which seems to have been founded on no other principle, than that in order to render the people dependent, we should begin by making them poor.

Ever wishing to attain and preserve power by any sacrifice or any means, and finding soon after the accession of his present Majesty, that the Earl of BUTE was in possession of the rear, he was the first and principal instrument of that noble Lord's introduction to power; particularly to the post of Secretary of State and coadjutor to himself; which shews, as clearly as any thing can, his early and close connection with the Favourite. And upon what principle could this be done, but the hope of thereby laying

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ing the foundation of security to himself?

When the Favourite had gained the ascendancy, and had formed designs incompatible with the honour of the crown and the interest of the kingdom; when he had drawn the substance and the shadow likewise of strength from the Great Commoner, and defeated him also in his mighty design upon Spain; then, even then, notwithstanding this insult, and many others, such was either his lust for office, or his friendship for the Favourite, that he would have sacrificed his haughty overbearing spirit to a sufferance of remaining in office, and submitted to a controul not only contradictory of all his former principles, but infamous in the eyes of the public, had it not been for the spirited

rited and truly patriotic resentment of his most noble friend and relation, Earl TEMPLE; who with a magnanimity, almost peculiar to himself, disdained to wear the chains, or put on the livery of such an incompetent Statesman, such a contemptible being; and first strongly urged, and at length FORCED the COMMONER into *resignation*: which he accompanied with his own, in order to give an example of spirit and resistance to an *Usurpation*, so exceedingly dangerous to both court and people.

Notwithstanding the most virulent and unjustifiable proscription carried on against the Late Commoner, and his friends, by the influence of the Favourite; notwithstanding the introduction of men by the same power who had long been hateful to him ;
not-

notwithstanding a total alteration of measures ; and notwithstanding the most iniquitous sacrifices made of the Honour, and Faith of the Crown, and of the Glory and Interest of the People ; yet did he on that day, that important day, when the permanency of England was under consideration, shrink back, and cover his boasted patriotism in a three hours speech *upon equilibrium*. He was for and against the preliminaries of peace ; he liked and he disliked them ; and in a word, he was full of nothing but doubts and hopes and fears. If he really did not approve of them, and in his own heart he could not do otherwise, why did he not declare his sentiments boldly like a true patriot ? The reason is, he knew the peace to be the favourite measure of the Minion, and he was a-

fraid of doing him too much mischief on that occasion ; apprehending that a spirited and nervous opposition on that question, might lay the foundation of an irreparable breach ; might destroy for ever his purpose, which was already formed, of obtaining a reconciliation with the Earl of BUTE.*

And

* “ It is more than probable, he knew his channel of conveyance to Mr. Pitt ; and that a communication had, for some time, been opened between them, else what reason can be given for Mr. Beckford’s conduct, who was Lord Mayor of London at the time of making the peace, in not calling a Court of Common Council, to prepare and present petitions to Parliament against the Preliminary Articles ? This behaviour would have been spirited, and worthy the metropolis of England, which so zealously condemned those articles, and the treaty itself. If that step had been taken, it is not very probable the vote of approbation would have been so much to the Favourite’s Honour.” *History of Minority*, pag. 215.

And so firmly persuaded was the Favourite of the Great Commoner's wishes to accomplish such an union, that he soon afterwards employed Sir HARRY ERSKINE to open a negotiation for that purpose. There are not wanting those who know of Sir HARRY's going from place to place, and from man to man, in search of a channel to convey the Favourite's designs, in a *proper manner* (as it was phrased) to Mr. BECKFORD, who was Mr. PITT's great and confidential friend. As soon as the plan was known, it was accepted; and Lord BUTE went in disguise in the middle of the night, in August 1763, to Mr. PITT's own house in Jermyn-street. It is as certain, that the Great Commoner, in his subsequent conferences with a Greater Personage, to whom the door was opened for him

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by

by the Minion, *would have accepted, and united with the Favourite*, had he not been prevented by the strong efforts of his friends.

As a proof how much the miscarriage of this negotiation, and of course this intended connection with the Favourite, was against the Commoner's wishes, let us only recollect the extraordinary language of his friends upon that occasion; I mean of those few who were exclusively attached to him.

"It were foolish. ~~Said~~ one of them,
 "if a womanish *idea of consistency*, that
 "is, of acting always with the *same*
 "man, should influence Mr. PITT to
 "go wrong. The great and noble
 "consistency of a patriot is *steadily*
 "[fine bombast!] to pursue his coun-
 "try's good, and whether in the
 "changes of time a NEWCASTLE,
 "a GERMAN WHORE, or a lord
 "BUTE,

“ BUTE, may be the instrument, it
 “ matters little to his country.” Here
 is a clear avowal of the wish to come
 into office with such a connexion :
 And I appeal to the members of the
 lower house, for what he himself has
 said there upon the subject of a con-
 nection with the Favourite. Did he
 ever say that he had any objections
 to it? On the contrary, has he not re-
 peatedly declared, that he had none?
 and that the Favourite might, if he
 pleased, lead him into the closet?
 This is speaking pretty plainly; so
 plainly that it needs no comment. There
 is one circumstance more; a particu-
 lar friend of his at that time, said,
 “ That an *union* between Mr. PITT
 “ and Lord BUTE was the *only* thing
 “ that could give us our just weight
 “ and importance abroad, and restore
 “ peace and harmony at home.” And

this friend was known to be a retailer of the Late Commoner's sentiments. From these particulars, and the manner in which the negotiation was set on foot, it appears, beyond a doubt, that the Great Commoner wished for such a junction; and that he was as ready to pay court to the reigning Favourite, as ever he had been to the Countess of YARMOUTH, but was obstructed by the means of his friends.

How did the Great Commoner behave after this? Did he not join the Favourite's party in the pursuit of an unfortunate exile?——Did he not previously declare in the lobby to one of the Surry members, that that unfortunate person must be supported? But a few hours afterwards, was he not the first who rose up violently against him, (with his usual dissimulation and affected piety) at the mention
of

of a poem, which he had seen and read before ? Did he not with a bitterness of expression that could be dictated by nothing but his zeal in soliciting the Favourite's esteem, condemn and traduce that unhappy man ? Did he not emphatically call him, " The blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of his King ? " and this before any judgment could be had, although the necessary process was going forward, in the courts below ? It was a censure and condemnation which the Favourite had much at heart, and the assistance of the Great Commoner was doubtless very acceptable ; and very probably, as it was intended, was favourably reported elsewhere.

In the course of the same season, we saw him first espouse, and then fly from
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the great cause of Public Liberty, which his noble Relation had been indefatigable in his attempts, and had expended immense sums, to bring to a determination. It is true, he assisted in the first debate upon general warrants; but finding that some of the party were in earnest in their designs of going further, and had prepared a motion against the seizure of papers, which was in fact the great grievance*; and also finding, that the

Favourite

* They were afraid of attempting any thing further, lest they should thereby ruin the probability of their supposed success: Which was the reason of their not making a second effort, upon a motion they had formed against the seizure of papers, which was generally expected. That was a point of real importance to the Liberty of the subject; and a condemnation of a practice so horrid and illegal as the seizure of Papers undoubtedly was, would have given the most sensible pleasure to every Englishman.

But

Favourite dreaded the Minority gaining a victory, lest the party should be afterwards turned against him ; and that the Favourite had therefore supported

But the real truth is, these patriots by halves only, when they were in office, were as strong prerogative men as those whom they now opposed ; and hoping shortly to be in office again, they did not chuse to condemn a practice, which many of them held to be both justifiable and necessary. So that this minority were not such warm and sincere friends to Liberty as they pretended: Though they were at infinite pains, and some expence, to make the public believe their professions, from their attempt to condemn General Warrants. But not a step would they take towards either remedying or condemning the greater grievance, relative to papers ; not an inch further would they go although they were sure of carrying the question. If it be legal to seize papers (and such silence almost implies it) it is a matter of indifference to the unfortunate person whose house is plundered for them, whether the search and seizure are made under the authority of a general or a particular warrant ; if a general

ported the administration with all his might upon this occasion ; the Great Patriot scandalously *withdrew from the cause and the Party* ; thereby

ral warrant will not do, a particular one may soon be had : a Secretary of State can never be many minutes in finding a Justice of Peace to issue a warrant for him. The question is, Is such a practice legal ? The Minority would not say, *No*. Many of them are supposed to approve of it, in certain cases ; as in high treason, &c. but they would neither tell the public what these cases were, nor under what restrictions the practice ought to be put. They hung out a specious, but deceitful, appearance of Liberty, a kind of *a will with a whiff*, and intreated the public to follow it — The evasion of the Habeas Corpus, and the close imprisonment, were wholly indefensible, and would have afforded them most excellent questions. Those transactions were clearly against law, and therefore ought to have been censured. Perhaps with respect to the warrant, the right and best way of proceeding would have been to have moved a complaint against the Secretary himself ; at least

upon a subject of such importance, especially too as he was looked upon to be the fittest person to lead, or principally support such a procedure ; and when, in consequence of that idea, he was applied to by one of his own friends, and in some measure a distant relation, he checked the whole in the bud, by declaring vehemently against it.

In the succeeding year (1765) the Favourite and the administration being at variance, the Great Commoner kept aloof. He wished to see them destroyed, from his personal animosity to some of them ; and he did not therefore interrupt the Minion in any of his favourite measures, neither on the question of the Regency, nor any other ; but waited for the opportunity, or rather the necessity, which he
thought

thought the distress of the Public service, and the impossibility of carrying on the Public business, in such a scene of continual warfare between the court and the ministry, would indispenfibly produce, of calling him to the state : not merely as one *less hostile* against the Favourite than any other person, but because there then was, and had been for some time, a good understanding between them. A negotiation was accordingly opened ; and it was apparently with a design, and expectation, of getting certain great and favourite conditions complied with, that such pains were taken to prevail upon a ROYAL PERSONAGE (now no more) to become the negotiator. But unfortunately for this scheme, they began with the wrong man. His ROYAL HIGHNESS first

sent for Lord TEMPLE. That noble Lord refused the conditions with a firmness that does honour to his integrity. He then knew nothing of what Mr. PITT would do. His ROYAL HIGHNESS went to Mr. PITT ; and offered him the same conditions which had been refused by the noble Lord. And why the Great Commoner did not chuse to accept of them, cannot be accounted for, unless it was because he thought them too hard, and apparently favouring so much of the *Butean* system, that he was afraid to desert his noble relation, who obviously stood upon such a public ground ; and besides, having no subterfuge to cover the deceit and treachery of so scandalous a connection, as that with the Favourite, must, and would have been considered.

In

In the succeeding negotiation (which was but a few weeks after) he was again saved by his noble relation, who a second time declared his refusal to enlist under the banner of the Favourite. Again was the great Commoner foiled ; and he was still afraid to break with his noble friend upon such a declaration ; but it is impossible to express the chagrin he felt in not being able to accomplish his project, which had nothing more in view than the very title and place he now enjoys ; the one to be obtained by the favour, and the other to be held under the tenure of the Earl of BUTE. From both of which he was prevented, and his character preserved another year, by the superior virtue, firmness, and true patriotism of Earl TEMPLE, who repeatedly declared, with an emphasis

phasis of zeal that shews him to be the real friend of his country, and acting wholly upon public-spirited principles, that he would never submit to a *Butal* and *Ducal* administration. And in return for his sincere friendship, and most essential service, the Commoner most vehemently en-veighed against the noble Lord for his *obstinacy*, as he phrased it. And he repeatedly said to every gentleman, who visited him in the West last year, that he knew of no reasons which could or ought to have prevented Lord TEMPLE's acceptance. A plain and convincing proof this, that he himself had no objections to leaguings with the Favourite upon any terms, even tho' they were, that Lord NORTHUMBERLAND should be Lord Chamberlain, Mr. STUART MACKENZIE (Lord BUTE's

BUTE's brother) Privy Seal for Scotland ; and that all the Favourite's friends should remain ; nor to seeing the whole ministerial system thus contaminated with the power, interest, and influence of the Favourite. And, let his own family (who best know) declare the rage he was in, and the intollerable uneasiness of mind which were visible in his speech and conduct for a considerable time afterwards, occasioned by his disappointment of not going into office, with the intention, and settled condition, of accepting in a few weeks after the first arrangements had taken place, the very Peerage and the office of Privy Seal he hath now taken. Nothing in fact could equal the vexation he suffered by his own timidity, in not
 deserting

deserting his noble friend and relation at that time, and for the very purpose above-mentioned. But to open a door for his future advancement, he took the advantage of the weakness of the administration at the beginning of last winter, when there was a diversity of opinions amongst them concerning the American Stamp Act, to offer them his assistance ; taking for granted, I should imagine, that they in return would gratify him with whatever place and title he desired, and would be glad of obtaining, *upon any terms*, such an accession to their party ; and when the most difficult business had been got over, he wanted to change that administration, part of whom it is known he advised to accept. Finding, however, that he could not accomplish his views that way, owing to the firmness which

which the cabinet of that administration made to a principle so abominable and selfish, he turned against them before the end of the session.

We come now to this last *Negotiation*; the grand criterion by which the disinterested honest public will judge of the Great Commoner's character, assisted in some measure, as they doubtless will be, by the several irrefutable facts already related; many of which naturally lead, and tend to an explanation of the causes of this Great, and to the world, unexpected event; a *Negotiation* instituted by the Favourite, and carried on by the noble Lawyer lately removed from his own department to another high office in the state, and hastened, too, by embracing the first opportunity to scatter the seeds of discord in the

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cabinet,

cabinet, and from thence to pronounce the incapacity and weakness of the supposed Ministers. The error last year had been in consulting Lord TEMPLE *first*. This year another method was taken, Mr. PITT was *first* applied to; and after that gentleman had had a conference first with the late Lord Chancellor, and then with his M. Lord TEMPLE was sent for, who directly after his coming to town, waited on his M. at Richmond. Next day (July 16, 1766) his Lordship received a very affectionate letter from Mr. PITT, then at North-End, Hampstead, desiring to see his Lordship there, as his health would not permit him to come to town. His Lordship went, and Mr. PITT acquainted him, that His M. had been graciously pleased to send for him to
form

form an administration; and as he thought his Lordship "*indispensable*," he desired his M. to send for him, and to put him at the head of the Treasury; and that he himself would take the post of Privy Seal. The Commoner then produced a list of several persons, which he said *he* had fixed upon to go in with his Lordship; and which he added was not to be altered. Lord TEMPLE said, that he had had the honour of a conference with his M. at Richmond the evening before, and that he did not understand from what passed between them, that Mr. PITT was to be *absolute Master*, and to form *every part* of the administration; if he had, he would not have given himself the trouble of coming to Mr. PITT upon that subject, being determined to come in

upon an *equality* with Mr. PITT, in case he was to occupy the most responsible place under the government. And as Mr. PITT had chosen only a *Side-place*, without any responsibility annexed to it, he should insist upon some of his friends being in the Cabinet offices with him, and in whom he could confide ; which he thought Mr. PITT could have no objection to, as he must be sensible he could not come in with honour, unless he had such nomination ; nor did he desire, but that Mr. PITT should have his share of the nomination of *his* friends. And his Lordship added, that he made a *sacrifice* of his brother Mr. GEORGE GRENVILLE, who notwithstanding his being entirely out of place, and excluded from all connection with the intended system,

would

would nevertheless, give *him* [Lord TEMPLE] all the assistance and support in his power : that it was his idea to conciliate all parties, which was the ground that had made Mr. PITT's former administration so respectable and glorious, and to form upon the solid basis of *Union*, an able and responsible administration ; to brace the relaxed sinews of government, retrieve the honour of the crown, and pursue the permanent interest of the public : but that if Mr. PITT insisted upon a superior dictation, and did not chuse to join in a plan designed for the restoration of that *Union*, which at no time was ever so necessary, he desired the conference might be broke off, and that Mr. PITT would give himself no further trouble about him, for that he would not submit to the proposed conditions.

Mr.

Mr. PITT, however, insisted upon continuing the conference ; and asked, who those persons were whom his Lordship intended for some of the cabinet employments? His Lordship answered, that one in particular, was a noble Lord of approved character, and known abilities, who had last year refused the very office now offered to him [Lord TEMPLE] though pressed to it in the strongest manner, by the Duke of CUMBERLAND, and the Duke of NEWCASTLE ; and who being their common friend, he did not doubt Mr. PITT himself had in contemplation. This worthy and respectable person was Lord LYTTLETON. At the conclusion of this sentence, Mr. PITT said, Good God! how can you compare him to the Duke of GRAFTON, Lord SHELBURNE, and
Mr.

Mr. CONWAY ? Besides, continued he, I have taken the privy seal, and he cannot have that. Lord TEMPLE then mentioned the post of Lord President : upon which Mr. PITT said, that could not be, for he had engaged the Presidency : but, says he, Lord LYTTELTON *may have a pension*. To which Lord TEMPLE immediately answered, that would never do ; nor would he stain the bud of his administration with an accumulation of pensions. It is true, Mr. PITT vouchsafed to permit the noble Lord to nominate his own board ; but at the same time insisted, that if two persons of that board, (THOMAS TOWNSHEND, and GEORGE ONSLOW, Esqrs;) were turned out, they should have a compensation, i. e. *Pensions*.

Mr.

Mr. PITT next asked, what person his Lordship had in his thoughts for Secretary of State? His Lordship answered, Lord GOWER, a man of great abilities, and whom he knew to be equal to any Mr. PITT had named, and of much greater alliance; and in whom he meant and hoped to unite and conciliate a great and powerful party, in order to widen and strengthen the bottom of his administration, and to vacate even the idea of opposition; thereby to restore unanimity in parliament, and confine every good man's attention to the real objects of his country's welfare. And his Lordship added, that he had never imparted his design to Lord GOWER, nor did he know whether that noble Lord would accept of it *, but mentioned it

* Lord Temple afterwards wrote to Lord Gower, to excuse the mention he had made of his name.

it now, only as a comprehensive measure, to attain the great end he wished, of restoring unanimity by a reconciliation of parties, that the business of the nation might go on without interruption, and become the only business of parliament. But Mr. PITT rejected this proposal, evidently *healing* as it appeared, by saying, that he had determined Mr. CONWAY should stay in his present office, and that he had Lord SHELburne to propose for the other office, then held by the Duke of RICHMOND; so that there remained no room for Lord GOWER. This Lord TEMPLE said, was coming to his first proposition of being sole and absolute dictator, to which no consideration should ever induce him to submit. And therefore he insisted upon ending the conference;

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which

which he did with saying, That if he had been first called upon by the K. he should have consulted Mr. PITT's honour, with regard to the arrangements of ministers, and have given him an equal share in the nomination ; and that he thought himself ill-treated by Mr. PITT, in his not observing the like conduct.

Had Mr. PITT not chosen to refuse a plan of government, so obviously calculated and designed for the good of the country, and for putting an end to those unhappy divisions which have long obstructed the Public business, we should have seen an administration formed of the most able and upright men in the kingdom ; acting upon principles agreeable to the Public wishes ; and whose natural strength and alliances, would have given such
a sta-

a stability to their power, as would have afforded the most sincere satisfaction to the Public ; who are concerned and grieved at these repeated *changes*, made apparently without any design of restoring peace to the kingdom, or any desire of putting the direction of affairs into capable hands : *Changes* obviously patched up, and consisting of nothing but a temporary succession of men, whose names were almost unknown till they appeared in the Gazette : *Changes* made by the Favourite, and designed to render all sets of men contemptible, that he may at length, like Cardinal MAZARINE, publicly resume his power, and tell the people he is the only capable man in the kingdom.

A French Historian * has given us the character of that Favourite French minister in these words ;

“ His person was handsome, his
 “ manners polite, and his discourse in-
 “ sinuating. The Queen-mother was
 “ extremely charmed with him, and
 “ he became the soul of all her coun-
 “ cils. He was almost impenetrable
 “ in his designs, disguised in his pro-
 “ ceedings, artful in his intrigues, and
 “ often attained his ends by such
 “ ways as would seem to carry him
 “ wide of his mark.” And VOL-
 TAIRE says, (in his *Siecle de Louis*
XIV. for it was during the minority
 of that Prince, that this man flourish-
 ed) “ That the Queen-mother made
 “ him master of France, and her-
 “ self. He obtained that power over
 “ her,

* Mem. de Turenne.

“ her, which an artful man will ac-
 “ quire over a woman born without
 “ strength sufficient to govern, yet
 “ with constancy enough to persist in
 “ her choice.” All the French His-
 torians (Vide MEZERAY, HENAU, &c.) agree in saying, MAZARINE’S
 government in a little time became so
 intolerable, that he was detested by
 the whole people, who became actu-
 ated with a factious spirit of licentious-
 ness; the nobles too were disgusted,
 and putting themselves at the head of
 different parties, laid the foundation of
 that violent and dangerous civil war
 which broke out soon afterwards.
 During this conflict MAZARINE was
 obliged to fly. The parliament im-
 peached him, and set a price upon his
 head. But during his exile, he conti-
 nued to govern by other hands, and
 the

the influence which he retained with the Queen-mother ; who so possessed the young King in his favour, that his Majesty looked upon him as a father. Though the tranquility of the kingdom was restored by the banishment of the Cardinal, yet the court so managed affairs, that the opposition to him became so enervated, partly by its own blunders, but chiefly by the leaders listening to the overtures of the Court, which the Cardinal *secretly* contrived to get made to them, that the Queen-mother soon found she might safely order the King to recall him. His Majesty embraced him with the most tender affection ; and *he publicly resumed his power*. Even ORLEANS, who had affected to hate him most, and who thereby had gained the esteem of the people, was base enough
to

to become reconciled to him. The nobility fervilely welcomed him into the city, and the parliament, to its eternal dishonour, abjectly solicited his protection. In the midst of this more than scandalous and infamous degeneracy, there was *one* man who remained firm against him. This was the *Coadjutor* of ORLEANS, the great CONDE, as VOLTAIRE calls him; who had penetration enough to discover many of his secret stratagems and treacheries, and honesty enough to resist him. But what could *one* man do. He was deserted by the party, who were so infamous and venal as to put on the livery of the Court. And even the Parliament became so obsequious and devoted to MAZARINE, that they condemned CONDE, because he was MAZARINE's enemy. " Thus France
 " bubbled

“ bubbled and laughed at, bent her
 “ neck to the despotism under which
 “ she languishes to this day ; adding,
 “ one more proof, that the public ha-
 “ tred may not be the less followed by
 “ public enslavement to the person
 “ hated. *Tous les tems se ressemblent.*
 “ All times are similar.” And the pre-
 sent King of Prussia, in his exami-
 nation of *Machiavel's Prince*, says,
 “ that MAZARINE having surmounted
 “ all difficulties, deprived the Parlia-
 “ ment of its privileges in such a
 “ manner, that to this day it is but
 “ a mere phantom ; which yet some-
 “ times pretends to be a real body,
 “ but is soon made sensible of it's
 “ error.”

These reflections, and this part of
 the French history, naturally occur
 to the mind of any thinking man,
 who

who is at all acquainted with the transactions of these times. If we compare similar causes with similar effects, what has not this country to fear? Will not every man say, it was an inexcusable thing to reject that plan of administration, which carried with it the obvious and convincing means of bringing *Union* and *Strength* to Government, and of rendering it formidable enough to combat, and destroy whatever schemes might in a few months, or perhaps weeks, be formed against it, by the inconstancy of the man who is ever projecting some internal mischief?

This is the *second* opportunity that has been *weakly* or *treacherously* lost, of gaining that ascendancy over the fickleness of the Favourite, which is become absolutely necessary to establish

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a permanent administration. What passed in July, last year, is well known; and many who were not then, are, I believe, now pretty fully convinced of his power. He made the administration at that time, as well as turned out their predecessors. He has turned them out also, and now put in another set. Where are these fluctuations to end? or what can they mean?

The nation hath long been wishing and calling for Mr. PITT. Mr. PITT is now come, and what hath he done? I blush for my country, which weeps over his hypocrisy. He has effected his long meditated junction with the Favourite; has deserted the only place in which he could serve his country; and, like Enoch, he is *translated* never more to be heard of.

He

He has sacrificed his noble friend and relation, and all the ties of affection, gratitude, honour, faith, and (if he is still susceptible of feeling) his domestic peace, to his present views. How different, let him recollect, has been the conduct of that noble Lord, who, with a firmness rarely to be met with, and with an integrity that spoke the zeal of his heart, supported *him* upon many points of importance and difficulty, contrary to the opinions of many of his best friends, and in danger of losing a very considerable part of his present possessions ; no consideration of which ever induced him to swerve one moment from those ties of friendship, and that great public cause in which he stood engaged ! — In January last, the noble Lord could have gone into

administration, if he would have taken it upon the terms that Mr. PITT, I beg pardon, now Lord CHATHAM, has.

There have not been wanting other opportunities, and repeated solicitations, to induce the noble Lord to accept; but he never would upon terms dishonourable to himself, and unserviceable to his country. And yet these refusals have not been dictated by either a dislike of office, or a spirit of opposition to the wishes of the people, who know his abilities, and would rejoice to see him at the head of affairs; for the business of one would be his delight, and the service of the other his pride: but by an integrity, that is now, and to latest ages will be admired, in disdaining to put on the livery of the Favourite, or
that

that of his *Vice-Roy*, the new made Peer, which is but his at second hand.

This truth is clearly evinced, by what has been said was told to a Great Personage the same day that the noble Lord set out for the country; which has been supposed was nearly to the following effect: That the Commoner's terms were of such a nature, it was impossible the noble Lord could accept of them consistently with his honour: that his Lordship had made a sacrifice of his Brother to the Commoner's resentment, in order to accommodate with him; but that gentleman insisted upon bringing in a set of men, some of whom were personal enemies to his Lordship, and with whom he had differed upon the most essential points
of

of Government ; and would not permit him to name one friend for the Cabinet, in whom he had an entire confidence : and had assumed a power to himself, to which his Lordship never could submit ; for if he did, the world would say, with great justice, that he went in like a child, to go out like a fool. That his wish was, to retrieve the honour of the Nation by an administration formed upon a broad bottom, and composed of men of the best abilities, without respect to party, which his first and principal view was to extinguish and annihilate, as much as possible, in order that the whole attention of Parliament might be confined to the great objects of national concern. That he had never been a suitor to ——— either for himself or his friends,

friends, for any place of honour or emolument ; he did not even seek the present offer ; yet he was extremely willing to sacrifice his own peace and leisure, to the service of His M. and his country, provided he could do it with honour ; but that, he added, was in his own disposal, and he would make a compliment of it to no man.

In the evening (of the same day) the noble Lord told the noble lawyer who had been appointed Negotiator, that the farce was at an end, and the masque was off. His lordship need not have sent for him from the country, for there was no real wish or intention to have him in the administration.

As no reasons were given by the Commoner for refusing the *bealing* propositions of his noble Relation, the Public will very naturally, and perhaps

perhaps very justly, suppose, they were inconsistent with the bargain he had made with the Favourite ; might prove abortive of his new connection ; or, which is more probable, destructive of the Favourite's great plan of Government, which is nothing more, than to increase the spirit of division, and by perpetually playing one party against another (having always the ——'s power in his own hands, which is a weight sufficient to throw the balance where he pleases) he is thus able to secure himself, and continue master of all. But had this plan of *Union* taken place, the system of governing by division must have been at an end ; and it would not have been prudent in the Favourite to advise the dismissal of such a ministry ; or resort to his old tricks of making

ing

ing and unmaking, only to shew his own power, and the subserviency of mankind. Such a combination of strength would have been sufficient to crush him to atoms. He knew it; and he feared it. Therefore by having previously gained the Commoner to his interest, he prevented the acceptance of it; and thereby effected what he had long wished for, the separation of that gentleman from his noble relation. This separation has, for a considerable time, been the darling object of his wishes: has employed his whole thoughts; and he has contrived an hundred stratagems, and meditated a thousand ways, to accomplish this great end. Sometimes he has endeavoured to tempt one, and sometimes the other, with his offers; always taking them singly: but the

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virtue

virtue and integrity of the noble Lord have always foiled his machinations, and, until this period, have likewise saved his relation. But a Title, and a *Side-Place* with a large salary, but no business or responsibility annexed to it, were baits which that gentleman had long been gaping after, and which at length have caught him. Baits which his ambition could not make him more eager to swallow, than the *Thane* was to offer. “ Wonder not therefore
 “ that he has changed sides and opi-
 “ nions ; that he has united with him
 “ whom he pretended to hate ; since
 “ all sides, and all opinions, which
 “ promote his views, are equally eligi-
 “ ble to him.” But it will be matter of wonder indeed, if this new friendship lasts. It is too great a victory to the Favourite, too great a triumph to
 the

court, not to be followed with a total defeat. He will be turned out, as he hath been turned in ; only to add, if possible, something more to that public odium and abhorrence of his name and character, which have so unanimously followed his apostacy and promotion ; his desertion of his friends and his country, and the accomplishment of his long sought wretched alliance with the Favourite ; who now laughs at his folly, despises his vanity, exults over his weakness, and rejoices in the Public execration of such an Hypocrite. In a word, it is the *perfection* of the Favourite's scheme ; which no resistance, no integrity, no virtue of the noble Lord could prevent ; met, as it was, more than half way, by the lust of

Power, *Honours*, and employment, the ingratitude and perfidy of ———.

With whom, besides, is the late Commoner in league ? with those very men who he hated most and despised : with General CONWAY, who two years ago he refused to see at Hayes, though pressed to it in the strongest manner by Lord LYTTLETON ; with Lord SHELburne, upon whom he put a negative last year, when nominated to the very office he now enjoys ; with Colonel BARRE, who called him an heap of contradictions, &c. &c.

If it is asked, why had he so great a *Penchant* for them now ? The answer is, because the first, in a great measure, laid the foundation of the surrender of the Honour and Authority of Great Britain, and made a tender of both
at

at the feet of the Colonies; the second assisted him, and the third follows of course.

This little corps, contemptible in numbers, and despicable in abilities, is to be reinforced by the subalterns of the late ministry; by those whose excessive lust for office, whose ingratitude, meanness, and subserviency, would not suffer them to follow the *resignations* and *dismissions* of their patrons. The moment these heard there was another recruiting serjeant in town, they instantly deserted both the officers and colours under which they had first enlisted, and for present pay, and good quarters, repaired to the drum head of the enemy.—*Video omnes damnatos omnesque ignominiâ affectos, illâc facere.* Cic.

To

To the Gentlemen *out*, I beg leave to say a few words. You are now the only men from whom the Public hope for that security of their most valuable interests which they had long been taught to expect from others, who have now betrayed them. And being possessed of great and real property in the kingdom, you are most naturally and nearly interested in the public welfare, and may truly be stiled, the constitutional representatives and guardians of the people. It should be therefore, and I make no doubt it is, with you, matter of consideration, whether the most essential points of public business, the restoration of *union* and tranquility to the nation, the honour of the crown abroad, and the authority of government at home, can be properly executed, attained and secured

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ed by any but an able, powerful and public spirited administration ? Whether rescuing your country out of the hands of a *Faction*, formed by an unnatural connection between the Deserter of the people and the Favourite of the Court ; and from the designs of a dangerous conspiracy against the public peace ; be not objects worthy your most serious attention ; and the first steps, now become indispensable, towards forming an administration adequate to the difficulties and necessities of the times ? In this great, this truly patriotic work, there is no doubt but you will have the assistance and support of all good men, all real well-wishers to their country. *Libertas et anima nostra in dubio est.* Sall.

Such

Such is a short and plain enquiry into some parts of the extraordinary conduct of a late Right Honourable Commoner. Very few observations are necessary to assist any reader in forming a right judgment upon them ; therefore as few as possible have been introduced. The facts will speak for themselves, and leave that impression and conviction behind them, which are ever the companions of truth. But to those few, those very few, who have yet the hardiness to appear in his defence, and because they can say nothing better, are obliged to say only this, *Let us wait, let us see his Measures ;* —I will make a short remark. The Public did wait until they saw his measures ; they were silent. But when the noble Lord, his relation, returned into the country, they feared
all

all was not well. In a few days his measures appeared : and they are ; a junction with the Favourite, to which he has sacrificed his old connections, and best friends ; and the acquisition of a Title, to which, as far as he was able, he has sacrificed the Public.

I cannot conclude without the warmest thanks, I think I may say in the name of every Englishman, to the steady discerning, and patriotic Members of the Common Council of the City of London ; who when repeated attempts were made to surprise them into an address, upon an appointment of men, and an adoption of measures, equally obnoxious and injurious to the nation, *refused*, with a firmness that does the greatest honour to their public spirit ; and told the person applying, “ *That the Commoner*

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was

was caught in a scotch trap."—To frustrate the efforts of a DINGLEY*, may there never be wanting the good sense and spirit of a FREEMAN.—They disdained to set an example of deceit to the Public, and spurned, with a laudable indignation, the scandalous attempts upon their understandings and integrity, to become the instruments of imposition upon their fellow subjects; to serve the base, self-interested purposes of a contemptible *Faction*, and cover the most abandoned and infamous apostacy.

MOURN, ALBION mourn, the wretched chance deplore;

In CHATHAM buried, WILLIAM PITT's no more!

B——, thou arch-foe to Freedom and her Friends,
At length thy subtle craft has gain'd its ends.

Divide and govern is thy maxim still;

Lo! *Discord* flies, subservient to thy will,

Whirling

* Mr. Charles Dingley.

Whirling her brand of blue, sulphureous flame,
And PITT and TEMPLE, are no more the same.

O PITT, thou Prince of Patriots! ah! how
chang'd!

Now with a STUART, by a STUART, rang'd;
'Scap'd from the wiles of a quinquennial snare,
But caught at last, altho' the hook was bare;
BUTE hands thee in, MACKENZIE at thy side,
Displays *his* Private Seal, with Publick Pride.

Triply exalted, pension'd, titled, plac'd,
Thy heart yet whispers, "PITT, thou art abas'd!
"PYNSENT hath murder'd Faith, all Faith is o'er
"With CHATHAM therefore; PITT finds faith
no more!"

Think how, pursuing Freedom's steady plan,
And call'd by BUTE, th' *impracticable man*;
Master of all that virtue e'er desir'd,
Thy Country lov'd thee, and her foes admir'd!
Then think how, (triumph plum'd upon his brow)
He boasts to have found thee *practicable* now!

Erewhile thy Country's pride, support, and joy,
Thou'lt lost thine honour, and hast gain'd a toy!
Can the vain title solid bliss afford?
Do thine ears tingle at the name of LORD?
Reflect how much thy glory shone more clear,
In *Stephen's Chapel*; there thou hadst no PEER!
Shall not the weight of TEMPLE bear thee down,
While conscious firmness animates his frown?
Shall not *unpension'd* LYTTLETON pursue,
Unclogg'd by *one*, th' incumber'd slave of *two*?
O shame

O shame to patriotism ! her name is grown
 A Butt for laughter ; PYNSENT's *Price* is known !—
 Yet still remain some honest hearts, and hands,
 To raise her standard—TEMPLE ! lead the bands !
 Till on the FAVOURITE's stubborn neck thou tread,
 And crush to atoms his detested Head !

N. C. M. S. C.

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